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Educational Leadership

Reports and Recommendations From a National Invitational Conference

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The profession of educational leadership in the 21st century is changing. School leaders, educational administration faculty, and policymakers are endeavoring to redefine the profession in an era of ferment, during which the legitimacy of its knowledge base and the appropriateness of programs for preparing school leaders have been thrown into question. Who will lead America's schools? What theories and practices of leadership work best to turn low-performing schools into high-performing learning communities? Innovative answers to these vital questions are being explored across the country by researchers and educators alike.

The 101st yearbook published by the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE) has made a significant contribution in outlining the challenges facing educational leaders and proposing models for change. *The Educational Leadership Challenge: Redefining Leadership for the 21st Century* shows that significant political, social, and economic shifts in the country, as well as broad changes in the educational

industry, demand new ways of organizing and managing schools. The editor of the volume, Joseph Murphy, argues that new foundations for educational leadership need to be based less on the activities of school leaders and more on the valued ends of school leadership. Murphy proposes that the profession underscore the ends of school improvement, democratic community, and social justice in working to reform educational leadership. The volume examines these goals and explores how leadership training and practice can be reshaped to move the profession toward fulfilling them.

It is crucial that ideas about reshaping educational leadership—such as those examined in the NSSE volume—be connected to practice. The volume's authors emphasize that more research needs to be done to study new approaches to leadership and to translate findings from current and continuing research into practice on a broader scale. Clearly, as educational leadership changes in response to emerging trends in school reform and the contexts of

schooling, new understandings of effective leadership will emerge that should be shared among all stakeholders in education.

To stimulate thinking about the challenges faced by educational leaders and to contribute to translating research about the profession into practice, a national invitational conference on educational leadership was held in Vienna, Virginia, on May 20–21, 2002. Sponsored by the Laboratory for Student Success (LSS), the Mid-Atlantic Regional Educational Laboratory at Temple University Center for Research in Human Development and Education, the conference focused on determining what educational leaders need to know in order to achieve the goals of effective school and district leadership. It also focused on ways to use scientifically based research on educational leadership to inform and improve leaders' practices and related educational policy.

To frame discussion, the conference organizers provided copies of the NSSE volume in advance to all

(**Introduction**, continued on p. 30)



The LSS Review is a product of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Educational Laboratory, the Laboratory for Student Success (LSS), one of ten regional educational laboratories funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education. LSS seeks to provide research-based information to significantly improve the educational capacity of the region, including Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Washington, DC, and the nation. Inquiries about the work of LSS should be sent to the Outreach and Dissemination Unit, Temple University, 1301 Cecil B. Moore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19122-6091, Iss@vm.temple.edu. Copyright © 2002.



Redefining Educational Leadership

Next-Step Recommendations

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Although not all conference participants agreed on all points, the conferees achieved considerable consensus on next-step recommendations. Grouped under six headings, the recommendations are as follows.

Building Leader Knowledge

New leaders dedicated to school improvement should gain knowledge not only about best practices but also about how to foster dialogue and trust within schools and between schools and the communities they serve. Moreover, school staff should be given the knowledge about new leadership concepts and scientific evidence that they need to accept innovative leaders. When their staff has such knowledge, leaders who are dedicated to improvement, democratic community, and social justice can remain at schools long enough to make needed changes. Some participants proposed that innovative leaders should have expertise in literacy and curriculum-and-instruction research in order to help them work effectively with issues at the classroom level.

At the district level, school boards should be given adequate leadership training to learn how long it takes to effect systemic change leading to better student performance. Boards should also gain knowledge about the crucial role of school leaders in implementing such change. Furthermore, to retain teacher leaders, districts should make more effort to give teachers the knowledge that they need to be change agents.

To support school leaders, educational researchers should be well

informed about new scientific findings on leadership, and they should endeavor to incorporate the findings in their research efforts. Both researchers and the professional developers they train also need to become more knowledgeable about school leaders' varied training and professional backgrounds (e.g., urban, suburban, cross-cultural). That knowledge will help them determine what leaders need to know to improve instruction.

Linking Research and Practice

School improvement should be conducted on the basis of scientific research showing that leaders with expertise in the principles of school improvement, democratic community, and social justice can make significant differences in school achievement and quality. To build such evidence, more randomized and controlled experiments to determine the impact of leadership on student learning and citizenship are needed, despite the difficulties of measuring interventions beyond the classroom. Further, understanding of effective leadership and school change should be grounded in classroom practice, with the scientific knowledge leaders use for school improvement generated and constructed at that level.

Given the mandate of new federal legislation, the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*, to improve achievement for all students, participants maintained that school boards should use research findings to recruit, place, and develop school leaders. These leaders should be capable of addressing the practical challenges of building high-achieving, democratic, and socially just

schools. To turn districts into effective learning communities, district leaders should not only investigate what kinds of research knowledge are needed for improving leadership but should also show school administrators and teachers how to use the knowledge.

In turn, researchers should support district efforts to build better learning communities by bringing detailed, practical knowledge to school leaders that facilitates deep structural change. To develop practice-based research to support districts, regional educational laboratories and related organizations should consider establishing model leadership programs in demonstration districts. The programs should include leadership activities identified as effective through scientifically valid research.

Collaborating

It was suggested that to build capacity for collaboration, educational leaders should redefine collaboration to include specific knowledge about working together that can be taught and learned. With that knowledge, leaders should work to bring different groups involved in education together to achieve specific research-based objectives. It seems especially important that leaders develop the knowledge and skills that foster community involvement in school improvement, including parent outreach and community partnerships, especially around issues of social justice and equity. Increased financial and human resources should be dedicated to community building.

Furthermore, for collaboration to succeed at the school level, educators

should be recognized—and recognize themselves—as change agents in the process of building high-achieving learning communities. School improvement should come from within, with data and support for capacity building coming from districts. To support collaboration within schools, more connections should be forged among professional organizations for educational leaders, connections aimed at changing leadership toward more democratic models.

Other collaborations that should be increased in the interest of better educational leadership include partnerships between researchers with scientific data on school improvement and policymakers in need of such data to make decisions. Additionally, universities and research organizations that collaborate with schools should recognize and value practitioners' need for time to implement research findings. Such recognition will encourage sustained partnerships that foster improvements in student performance.

Communicating

Participants generally agreed that public awareness of the need for new leadership models should be raised in order to influence the political will for change in leadership principles and goals. Research publications that communicate scientific findings on leadership should be targeted for practical use by a variety of audiences with a stake in education—including policymakers, superintendents, principals, teachers, and parents—not just by other researchers. Moreover, to communicate procedural knowledge about leadership effectively, research organizations should develop packets or tool kits on reculturing leadership. These should be individualized for different groups, including boards,

principals, teachers, and parents. Individualized information will help explain to members of each group why recultured leadership is important from their perspective.

Educational leaders who use new leadership models should be proactive in describing examples of their success to the public. The achievements of collaborations among researchers, policymakers, practitioners, and parents that demonstrate effective leadership for building improved and democratic schools should be communicated in publications for varying leadership groups. These publications should clearly articulate the responsibilities and actions for leaders, from school boards to teachers to parents. State departments of education, as key influences on university schools of education and on districts, should lead in communicating scientifically based leadership knowledge that can contribute to school improvement.

Regional educational laboratories and similar research organizations should play a key role in synthesizing existing and emerging research on the effects of good leadership and in distributing research findings effectively. The organizations should focus on educational leadership research that can be communicated to a diverse group of practitioners for implementation, especially research pertaining to enhanced instruction.

Reforming Leadership TrainingUniversities

It was recommended that the financial and human resources for leadership development should be increased to improve educational leadership training in universities. To move forward, educational leadership programs should take into account both new scientific research on effective leadership models and procedural knowledge about teaching and learning at the classroom level. Furthermore, the coursework and internship programs of leadership programs should place the principles of school improvement, democratic community, and social justice at the center, while moving organizational management, policy, and finance training to an ancillary role. As sources of research and knowledge, regional educational laboratories and similar organizations can support reforms in leadership training programs.

Universities should also consider linking educational leadership to teacher education programs, including the provision of leadership training for teachers who may not want to become administrators. Admissions requirements for university leadership programs should reflect higher expectations for future school leaders in alignment with principles of democratic leadership. Some participants suggested a major change for universities to consider: restructuring to allow districts to develop their own leadership training models. These could be cheaper, more accommodating, more applicable to practice, and less technocratic in focus.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

More collaborative and integrated professional development for different types of leaders is needed to disseminate new knowledge and leadership frameworks across educator roles. School-improvement capacity should be built by bearing in mind the learning needs of existing staff who have been trained under old leadership concepts; professional development opportunities using new research findings on leaderships are crucial to this capacity building.

(**Recommendations**, continued on p. 30)

Understanding the Evolving Concept of Leadership in Education Roles, Expectations, and Dilemmas

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Images of the school administrator have been shaped over the past century by various ideas serving to focus practice. While the behavioral sciences image that influenced preparation curricula after World War II has lost its luster, the earlier managerial perspective that sees the school as a system of production remains, pervading educational reforms since the 1980s. This perspective appears in current pressures to measure and assess performance and in expectations that adjusting instructional strategies will improve learning outcomes. However, this view overlooks the complexity of schools and the nesting of schools within larger institutions.

What constitutes effective educational leadership today? This chapter explores three arenas to provide a partial answer to this important question: special conditions of the work itself, forces in the school's environment that shape leadership challenges, and recurring dilemmas inherent in leading schools and districts.

Special Conditions of Educational Leadership

Four key conditions make the daily work of educational administration uniquely challenging: moral dimensions, stewardship of the public's trust, complexity of core activities, and schools' highly normative and people-intensive character.

Public educators have a special responsibility to be deliberately moral. Resources of time, money, materials, and staff are limited, and choices with moral consequences must be made. For example, a decision about whether to invest resources in math courses for gifted

students or in improving the existing math curriculum affects students' futures. Good school administrators wrestle thoughtfully with moral dilemmas and recognize the centrality of managing value in their work. What is in a child's best interests is a recurring concern, and the answer often is not clear.

School leaders must also act as stewards in developing public understanding of and support for schools. They must encourage communities and their elected representatives to reduce disadvantages that interfere with children's academic success and to understand that improving academic achievement for all students requires significant changes in curriculum, instruction, and leadership. Moreover, school leaders must foster students' intercultural competence among children and show communities how better schools will benefit them.

It is increasingly clear that the relationships among teaching, learning, administration, and school organization are complex. The effects of administrative action on teaching and learning are difficult to assess, since teaching is not fully understood and since tremendous diversity characterizes teachers and students. While some research indicates that interventions to improve student engagement are beneficial, learning outcomes are affected by many variables, and uncertainty remains about what works, even as states and schools boards expect improved outcomes.

Schools are highly normative organizations involving people-intensive activities. Leaders rely on face-to-face interactions to accomplish goals that involve people

working together to influence others. "People work" is more important and complex in schools than in other organizations. Moreover, workgroup norms critically influence teaching practices for better or for worse, and changing schools requires administrators who can change teachers' beliefs about effective practice by gaining trust and discussing practice. Resistance to change in schools is a cultural challenge, and the school administrator is a key agent in shaping and reinforcing shared meaning directed toward reform.

Central Forces Shaping Educational Leadership

Central contextual forces shaping school leadership include changes in school demographics, hybrid school governance, accountability frameworks, and professionalization of teaching. Educational leaders cannot ignore or resist these often conflicting forces.

Rising student population in public schools is associated with overcrowding. Demographic analysis shows greater ethnic and linguistic diversity in schools. Also, single-parent households among schoolage students are increasing. This change is significant, since single-mother households are more likely than others to be impoverished. Meanwhile, more students receive special education services, and economic pressures make it harder for parents to support children and schools.

Schools also face governance that features both local and centralized control. Site-based decision making has become more prevalent, placing new demands on teachers' time, while public education financing compels strong dependence on central governments as well as systematization of policies throughout districts. Local school reform is thus occurring within a framework of central policies, and this hybrid governance often leaves school leaders with competing demands to balance.

Widespread accountability trends like standardized state assessments and school report cards have also complicated school leaders' roles. External constituencies increasingly drive accountability frameworks, including business leaders pressuring schools to raise student achievement to meet the needs of the information economy, state governments implementing and assessing accountability plans, and a federal government requiring increased accountability.

Critics of external accountability mechanisms suggest that these mechanisms reduce local autonomy and narrow curricular and instructional options. Some critics think that school-based accountability mechanisms may be a more effective means of changing classrooms. In any case, accountability trends challenge leaders to align local expectations with external frameworks and to engage teachers in collaborative discourse about accountability.

A new professionalism is characteristic of teaching today, as entry requirements and professional standards rise and teaching concepts move toward more collaborative relationships, including mentoring, teaching teams, and continuous professional development. Teachers see themselves as members of a professional community involving both in-school and external groups.

Meanwhile, some reforms and existing structures work to perpetuate

standardized controls that conflict with professional concepts of teaching. Administrators thus work in contexts that may put them at odds with teachers even as they endeavor to address teachers' needs.

Recurring Dilemmas of Educational Leadership

Recurring dilemmas for educational leaders involve competing values, such as the professional value of classroom autonomy and the organizational value of cooperation that requires teachers to work together. Representative dilemmas involve tensions between leading and managing, addressing the system and the environment, and encouraging participatory decision making while concurrently striving to preserve teachers' individual authority.

Administrators must lead schools toward improved instruction while managing schools so that they function effectively. This traditional dilemma is becoming more difficult to handle as public expectations for improved schools rise. The dilemma is especially significant in poorer and smaller districts with fewer resources. Moreover, as communities become more heterogeneous, schools must serve more students who are poor and whose native language is not English. Such pressures on school stability intensify the challenges of leading school improvement.

Leaders must also manage internal operations of school systems at the same time as they address external exigencies. While superintendents have traditionally focused externally, today they must often focus internally. They must monitor individual school performance while they respond to governmental demands on their districts. Principals too must attend to their traditional internal

role of managing schools while responding to external demands. The closer links that are being forged between schools and communities also require leaders to balance competing demands.

Additionally, school administrators must balance participatory leadership with the imperative to make difficult decisions that may not be collectively endorsed. Since participatory leadership requires the involvement of teachers and parents, administrators must invite participation while they are faced with circumstances that require immediate action. Accountability trends pressing leaders to make difficult choices that may not be satisfactory to all in the school community complicate leaders' efforts to encourage participation and foster a consensus model

Conclusion

Today's educational leaders must grapple with complex, dynamic educational systems while responding to social and political pressures. It is unclear how school systems will change under demands for new leadership. Bureaucratic frameworks may become more entrenched under pressure to implement standards and accountability testing consistently. Or, school systems may become increasingly autonomous, as parental school choice and market-style leadership gain favor. Alternatively, dissatisfaction with bureaucratic and market visions of schools could lead to schools increasingly focused on social justice.

In any event, administrators face a difficult fusion of roles, contexts, and challenges. Effective educational leadership in the 21st century will require administrators committed to enacting strategies that make it possible for all children to succeed academically. ***#**

Understanding the Challenges of School and District Leadership at the Dawn of a New Century

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Contemporary educational leaders function in complex local contexts. They must cope not only with daily challenges within schools but also with problems originating beyond schools, like staffing shortages, problematic school boards, and budgetary constraints. There are some emerging patterns and features of these complex contexts that educational leaders should recognize. This chapter maps these contexts, describing six interrelated contextual terrains: the political, economic, financial, accountability, demographic, and staffing terrains.

The Political Terrain

Educational leaders face a political terrain marked by contests at all levels over resources and over the direction of public education. Since the 1983 publication of the report on American education entitled A Nation at Risk, the vitality of the national economy has been linked to the educational system, shifting political focus on public education from issues of equity to issues of student achievement. States have increasingly centralized educational policymaking in order to augment governmental influence on curriculum, instruction, and assessment. With the rise of global economic and educational comparisons, most states have emphasized standards, accountability, and improvement on standardized assessments. Additionally, the reauthorized federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act mandates this emphasis.

Paradoxically, some educational reforms have decentralized public education by increasing site-based fiscal management. School leaders in this new environment must both respond to state demands and also as-

sume more budget-management authority within their buildings. Meanwhile, other decentralizing measures have given more educational authority to parents by promoting nontraditional publicly funded methods of educational delivery, such as charter schools and vouchers.

Political pressures such as these have significantly changed the daily activities of local educational leaders, particularly by involving them intensively in implementing standards and assessments. Leaders at all levels must be aware of current trends in national and state educational policy and must decide when and how they should respond to reforms.

The Economic Terrain

The many connections between education and economics have posed new challenges for educational leaders. As both an economic user and provider, education takes financial resources from the local community at the same time as it provides human resources in the form of students prepared for productive careers. Just as the quality of a school district depends on the district's wealth, that wealth depends on the quality of the public schools.

Moreover, there is a direct relationship between educational investment and individual earnings. Specifically, it has been found that education at the elementary level provides the greatest rate of return in terms of the ratio of individual earnings to cost of education. This finding argues for greater investment in early education.

Understanding these connections, educational leaders must determine which educational services

will ensure a positive return on investment for both taxpayers and graduates. Where local economies do not support knowledge-based work, educational investment may indeed generate a negative return. Leaders must endeavor to support education for knowledge-based jobs while encouraging communities to be attractive to industries offering such work.

Educational leaders must be aware of the nature of their local economies and of changes in local, national, and global markets. To link schools effectively to local economies, leaders should develop strong relationships with community resource providers, establish partnerships with businesses and universities, and actively participate in policymaking that affects education, remembering the complex interdependence between education and public wealth.

The Financial Terrain

Two important shifts in the nation's financial terrain in the past 20 years have worked to move the accountability of school leaders from school boards to state governments. First, the growth in state and federal funding for public education constrains leaders to meet governmental conditions for both spending and accountability. Second, state aid has been increasingly linked to equalizing the "adequacy" of spending across districts, which has influenced leaders to use funds for producing better outcomes and for educating students with greater needs, including low-income and disabled children.

Complicating these shifts are the widely varying financial situations among jurisdictions. These financial differences have made significant disparities in spending between districts in urban areas and districts in rural areas common. In this dynamic financial context, educational leaders must strive to increase resources available for their schools, accommodate state accountability systems, and seek community support, even as they strive to increase effective use of resources by reducing class size, prepare low-achieving children in preschool programs, and invest in teachers' professional growth.

The Accountability Terrain

Recently, two important accountability issues have received considerable attention. The first has to do with market accountability. Since markets hold service providers accountable, if the market for education choices like charter schools and vouchers grows, leaders may be pressured to spend more time marketing their schools. The second issue has to do with political accountability. State accountability measures force leaders to meet state standards or face public scrutiny and possible penalties. The type of pressure varies among states according to the content, cognitive challenges, and rewards and punishments included in accountability measures.

School leaders can respond to accountability pressures originating in state policies by emphasizing test scores, or, preferably, by focusing on generally improving effectiveness teaching and learning. The external measures resulting from political accountability trends can focus a school staff's efforts, but leaders must mobilize resources to improve instruction for all students while meeting state requirements. And they must meet those demands even as the measures, incentives, and definitions of appropriate learning undergo substantial change.

The Demographic Terrain

Public education is expanding in terms of both student numbers and diversity. Furthermore, an increasingly contentious political environment has accompanied the growth in diversity. Immigration is also shaping the demographic picture. For example, many immigrant children need English-language training, and providing that training can strain school systems.

Economic changes are also affecting schools, as the number of children who are living in poverty has grown and poverty has become more concentrated in the nation's cities. Young children have the highest poverty rate of any age group. Many young children are therefore at risk for poverty-related academic and social problems. Furthermore, the shift to a knowledge-based economy and demographic changes accompanying the shift challenge the schools that are attempting to serve area economies.

Given such demographic challenges, school leaders must create or expand specialized programs and build capacity to serve students with diverse backgrounds and needs. Leaders must also increase supplemental programs for children in poverty and garner public support for such measures from an aging population.

The Staffing Terrain

Educational leaders must cope with two chief issues in this area: First, they must overcome labor shortages; second, they must maintain a qualified and diverse professional staff. Shortages of qualified teachers and principals will probably grow in the next decade. Rising needs in specialty areas like special, bilingual, and science education exacerbate shortages. Causes of projected shortages include population growth, retirements, career changes,

and local turnover. Turnover generally translates into a reduction of instructional quality resulting from loss of experienced staff, especially in cities, where qualified teachers seek better compensation and working conditions elsewhere.

In order to address shortages, some jurisdictions have intensified recruiting and retention efforts, offering teachers emergency certification and incentives while recruiting administrators from within teacher ranks and eliminating licensure hurdles. In these efforts, leaders should bear in mind that new staff must be highly qualified. It is critical to avoid creating bifurcated staffs where some are highly qualified while others never acquire appropriate credentials.

Leaders must also increase the racial and ethnic diversity of qualified teachers and administrators. An overwhelmingly White teacher and principal corps serves a student population that is about 30% minority (much greater in some areas). More staff diversity could lead to greater understanding of different ways of thinking and acting among both staff and students.

Conclusion

This survey of the current context of educational leadership reveals three dominant features. First. the national shift toward work that requires students to have more education has generated demands for greater educational productivity. Second, this shift has caused states to play a much larger role in the funding and regulation of public education. Third, states' regulatory role has expanded to include accountability measures to ensure instructional compliance and competence. Educational leaders must take heed of these features if they hope to successfully navigate the current educational terrain.

Unpacking the Challenges of Leadership at the School and District Level

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A central concern of current educational reform is holding schools more accountable, making accountability a critical part of the context of educational leadership. Successful reform depends on leaders' practices; thus, it is surprising that little research has examined effective leadership practices in the context of accountability prevalent today. This chapter reviews what we know about educational leadership in highly accountable contexts and describes an exemplary district's efforts to optimize large-scale reform.

Educational Leadership and Accountability

A classification of approaches to accountability illuminates different assumptions about school problems and reform. Each approach calls on different school leadership capacities.

MARKET APPROACHES

These approaches increase competition among schools by enabling greater choice. They alter school funding so that money follows students. Advocates hold that increased competition leads to greater parental satisfaction and student engagement. The market approach assumes ideal responses from school leaders who redesign their organizations in response to market conditions.

However, evidence about leaders' responses to increased competition suggests a more complicated reality. Choice arrangements vary in the autonomy granted principals. Some arrangements put little pressure on schools to compete, and some leaders are more reluctant to play a managerial role than others. Evidence also suggests that increased

competition has unpredictable effects on principals' commitment to instructional leadership.

DECENTRALIZATION APPROACHES

In these approaches, decision making is decentralized to increase the influence of those who do not sufficiently participate in typical governance. Site-based community control is typically the instrument for this goal. School leaders' responsiveness is increased, advocates believe, when parent and community constituents make decisions. When the goal of decentralization lies less in increasing participation than in creating more efficient administration, districts give greater authority over key decision areas to school administrators, increasing their accountability to districts or boards for efficient expenditure of resources. Advocates argue that such authority gets more resources into the direct service of students. Decentralization approaches assume that educational leaders will empower those with new authority and work with them to improve decisions.

Evidence of the effects of decentralization on school leaders is extensive. While the assumptions tend to match practice, this tendency does not provide the whole story. Principals do often provide leadership for parent-based councils. Yet decentralization tends to increase school leaders' attention to budgets at the expense of attention to curriculum and instruction.

MANAGEMENT APPROACHES

These approaches endeavor to improve schools by introducing more rational procedures. Advocates assume that better schools will

be more strategic in choosing goals and more plan-oriented and data-driven in accomplishing goals. They also assume that effective educational leaders act strategically, collecting and interpreting data, setting goals, and monitoring plans.

Evidence suggests that these assumptions have validity. Yet they only show part of the picture. Studies have indicated that school improvement also depends on collaborative planning and staff development, high stakeholder involvement, and coordination strategies. Successful strategic management seems especially to require inquiry and reflection on plans and evaluation of implementation.

PROFESSIONAL APPROACHES

Two different approaches have a professional orientation: sitebased management and the standards movement. Site-based management assumes that professionals closest to students—preponderantly teachers—have the most relevant knowledge for making administrative decisions. Giving employees greater decision-making power is presumed to improve efficiency and outcomes. The standards movement emphasizes accountability monitoring by professional organizations that set clear standards of professional knowledge, skill, and performance.

In both professional approaches, school leaders should stay abreast of the best professional practices to set expectations and create conditions for professional growth. Leaders should prevent standards from narrowing curricula, monitor progress, and buffer staff from external distractions. However, there is little evidence to indicate how

professional approaches affect school leaders.

BUNDLED APPROACHES

Most reform initiatives bundle together elements of other approaches to accountability, creating dilemmas for administrators. The extent to which reforms work depends largely on the ability of implementers to understand them, so bundling that causes confusion can work against success. Effective leaders will adopt aspects of approaches that align with their schools' goals, keep staff from feeling required to respond comprehensively, and build a collaborative structure in which accountability strategies can be effective.

A Case Study of Effective District Leadership

The case study described here illustrates the role of district and school leaders in successfully implementing state learning standards in a highly accountable environment. It examines an Illinois school district during its third year of implementing state standards to explore the district response to standards and the role leaders played.

STATE AND DISTRICT CONTEXT

In 1997, Illinois established state learning standards and benchmarks. A revised state assessment test linked to the standards began in 1999. The test directly measures achievement of standards and benchmarks and provides individual and school-level information on performance. Results of the test are published in school report cards and will soon be used to rank schools. Results also lead to state rewards and sanctions.

The district studied is an elementary district encompassing 10 schools and about 4,000 students (38% listed as low income). The

district has five formal goals, and each building has an annual improvement plan aligned with district goals. Results from the new test in 1999 placed the district's schools either below or right at state averages. Having decided early to integrate the standards and benchmarks, the district faced the problem of deciding how teachers might help students meet them. After convening teachers to "crosswalk" the current curriculum to the new state criteria. the district chose to limit initial attention to language arts and mathematics. As a first step, the district translated the state criteria into standards and benchmarks for each grade.

THE SAI MODEL

This preliminary work resulted in the Standards, Assessment, and Instruction (SAI) model. The model integrates state criteria with district grade-level goals, school improvement plans, and teachers' classroom objectives. The Standards, Assessment, and Instruction model has three core values: knowing what students should know, taking responsibility for student learning, and using data in instructional decisions.

The standards component of SAI connects closely with state standards. Expectations for achievement are communicated explicitly to students at each grade level.

The assessment component involves collecting evidence in order to demonstrate that students have met objectives related to the standards. Evidence collected includes SAI tests given three times during the school year, student portfolios, and evaluation sheets that allow students to self-assess their mastery of objectives and to direct their own learning. After each of the first two SAI tests, teachers analyze the data and evaluate instructional plans collaboratively.

The instruction component of SAI compares what students know to what they should know in order to appropriately modify instruction. District-level teams of teachers and administrators identify best practices; then building-level SAI teams convene with the district team to gain skill in those practices. These teams translate SAI into the school's culture and develop staff competency with the model.

THE ROLE OF DISTRICT LEADERSHIP

District leaders were much involved in shaping this response to state standards and assessments, using data-driven accountability to align state and district goals. Leaders promoted awareness of the district's response to standards and benchmarks and established strong, in-house professional development implemented primarily through the SAI team.

Development focused on training building-level facilitators and on analyzing best practices for school implementation. Leaders also pushed standards-based reform into classrooms, realizing that the goal of such reform is not curricular modification but student mastery.

Conclusion

Leadership approaches in highly accountable contexts are conceptually distinct, but they appear in many reform initiatives as an eclectic bundle consisting of ideas drawn from various approaches. Leaders must buffer staff from counterproductive policies, build school improvement initiatives that address external reforms, and meet the needs of the school's students and parents. Evidence shows that this challenge is daunting. The Illinois case study suggests, however, that strong district leadership can foster school improvement in a complex reform environment. #

Reculturing the Profession of Educational Leadership New Blueprints

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For some time, the educational leadership profession has been marked by ferment as it has struggled to orient itself in an era when the foundations of the profession have been thrown into question, especially the knowledge base and preparation programs for school leaders. Recent research provides insights about new scaffolding on which to rebuild the profession.

Specifically, a powerful combination of three key concepts provides a new framework for the profession: school improvement, democratic community, and social justice. This chapter makes the case for this new scaffolding, reviewing traditional methods of anchoring educational administration, noting their inadequacy, and outlining a new perspective based on the three framing concepts. Using this new perspective, the chapter then defines the school leader as moral steward, educator, and community builder.

Reculturing: The Bankruptcy of Traditional Ways of Doing Business in Educational Administration

Historically, educational leadership has employed four lines of work to define itself:

- mental discipline,
- the roles of the administrator,
- content, and
- methods.

The mental discipline perspective posits that particular content is less important than the development of processes or metacognitive skills. This perspective, with deep roots in the dominant understandings of learning in the 17th and 18th centuries, views content as a vehicle for the development of important faculties such as

observation, judgment, and perception. This perspective also emphasizes processes such as decision making, problem solving, and communication.

The view that highlights the roles of the administrator privileges issues related to the activities of school leaders. These include specific roles like superintendency and principalship; broader functions like legal, financial, and personnel activities; and tasks such as supervising employees.

The perspective that highlights content, as much current reform does, places knowledge at the center of the administrative stage. Historically, this approach has two epistemological axes: discipline-based (or technical) knowledge and practicebased knowledge. Work devoted to the technical domain struggles over the meaning of knowledge-based foundations, attempts to widen the traditional knowledge domains that define school administration by adding new perspectives (e.g., ethical, cultural, and gender-based views) to the profession, and strives to recast the knowledge base of the field for the future. Work devoted to the practice domain includes relegitimization of the craft aspects of the profession as well as attempts to systematize practices that have traditionally been available only in an ad hoc form.

Finally, the methods perspective, like the other perspectives, can be viewed as a basis for redefining school administration. Like the mental discipline perspective, the methods approach pulls processes into the foreground. One line of work in this area has focused on strengthening methods in educational administration research. In addition, much work in the area has been in the service of

developing a more robust portfolio of designs in both the research and application domains. In the application domain, scholarship on problembased learning is becoming increasingly woven into the profession, as are a renewed emphasis on case studies and an array of strategies such as journal writing, novels, films, reflective essays, and autobiographies.

Despite the importance of these four lines of work, the central dilemma that we face is that none of them is likely to provide adequate conceptual scaffolding for reculturing the profession. This can be illustrated for the most popular perspective developing more robust knowledge—and is also true for the others. Focusing on knowledge development places the university at the center of the field, working against communication with administrators and encouraging development of content that is no more likely to improve practice than what it replaces. Moreover, educational administration practice provides an inadequate basis for building knowledge of what works, since schools frequently are organized and managed in ways that hinder student learning.

It seems desirable that any design for reculturing educational leadership should be held to seven standards. It should:

- acknowledge and respect the diversity of work afoot in educational administration yet be able to pull diverse work in the field in certain directions.
- be informed by and help organize ideas from the current era of ferment
- promote the development of a body of ideas that define school administration as an applied field,

- help reconcile dualisms like academic versus practical knowledge,
- provide a forum for productive dialogue,
- clarify valued outcomes, and
- establish valued ends instead of subject matter as paramount.

Various efforts to create a new framework have been attempted. However, these efforts have tended to remain too focused on knowledge production.

If we combine knowledge about shortcomings of the profession with understandings generated in the current era of ferment, then apply the standards noted above, three powerful synthetic paradigms—school improvement, democratic community, and social justice—emerge. Each has the potential to capture the benefits revealed by the standards. Collectively, they offer a strong model for reculturing the profession.

New Foundations: New Understandings of Educational Leadership

Collectively, the outcome-based view of school administration described above suggests new roles for school leaders. Three that have particular saliency are school leaders as moral stewards, educators, and community builders.

MORAL STEWARD

At the core of the idea of the administrator as moral steward is the fundamental belief that the new science of administration will be one with values and of values. Effective school leaders must be directed by a powerful portfolio of beliefs and values anchored in issues such as justice, community, and schools that function for all students. A key task of a leader is to create a moral order bonding both leader and follower to shared beliefs and values. Moral stewardship in education means that tomorrow's school leaders must

engage their organizations and communities in placing new priorities on values that can direct education. Practically, moral stewards must understand the moral implications of the myriad daily decisions of school administrators. They must build ethical schools while meeting the moral imperative of providing learning opportunities for all students.

EDUCATOR

The educational roots of the school administrator's role atrophied through the past century as concepts of leadership developed from business management and social science research. A key to reculturing the profession is changing its orientation from management to education. Educational leaders need to attend to instructional practice more thoughtfully and more consistently. Because they will be challenged to refocus schools on new conceptions of learning and teaching, educational leaders will need to be more broadly educated in general and much more knowledgeable about the core technology of education in particular. In a rather dramatic shift from earlier times, school and district administrators will be asked to exercise intellectual leadership not as head teachers, but as head learners.

COMMUNITY BUILDER

The job of administrator as community builder unfolds in three distinct but related dimensions. First, administrators must nurture relations with parents and members of the school environment. Here the role of the administrator is to nurture the development of open systems where access and voice are honored. Second, administrators are challenged with developing a community of learning among professional staff. Third, an unrelenting focus on the creation of personalized learning environments for students is a central aspect of

the community-building function of school leaders.

To establish democratic school communities, leaders need to adopt strategies and styles that are in harmony with the central tenets of the "heterarchical" school organizations they seek to create. They must learn to lead not from the apex of the organizational pyramid but from within a web of interpersonal relationships—with people rather than through them. They must learn to lead by empowering people instead of controlling them. There is as much heart as head in this style of leading, which is grounded more in modeling and clarifying values and beliefs than in telling people what to do. Its goals include ministering to the needs of organizational members and shaping new structures through which leadership can arise on a broad basis. This is more reflective and self-critical leadership than bureaucratic management. As community builders, school administrators must stretch leadership across organizational actors and roles, while demonstrating an ethic of care to all members of the larger school community.

Conclusion

New foundations for reculturing educational administration are needed because traditional ways of defining the profession are inadequate to the task of creating schools where all students are successfully educated. The work of many colleagues across the profession reveals the presence of a powerful synthesizing paradigm that can carry us into the future, one that fuses the three powerful constructs of social justice, school improvement, and democratic community. These constructs suggest new ways of thinking about the roles of school leaders as moral stewards, educators, and community builders who can lead schools more effectively in the new century. #

School Improvement Process and Practices

Professional Learning for Building Instructional Capacity

James P. Spillane, Northwestern University; and Karen Seashore Louis, University of Minnesota

The belief that the school is the key unit of change has become general over the past 20 years. This chapter develops a conceptual scaffold for thinking about school improvement in relation to teaching and learning. A framework is articulated for clarifying relations between the process and practice of school improvement and students' opportunities to learn. The chapter considers instruction in relation to the school improvement process, the classroom and the school's professional community as sites for teacher learning, organizational learning as the bridge connecting the classroom and the professional community, and challenges to educational leaders committed to school improvement.

Instruction and School Improvement

What students come to know and understand depends on their opportunities to learn, which often differ because of factors that are bevond the control of schools, such as socioeconomic background. However, evidence shows that inequality of opportunity within schools results from variations in the classroom settings experienced by students. Teachers' performance is critical in improving opportunities to learn. Since instruction can be understood as the interaction of three elements—teachers, students, and materials—that constitute an instructional unit, instructional opportunity cannot be improved simply by augmenting one element. Interventions are more likely to work if they target numerous interactions among the elements. This view of instruction suggests that school improvement initiatives should involve integrated tasks targeting all three elements.

Research shows that five types of teacher knowledge are important to improving instruction: content knowledge, general pedagogical knowledge, content-specific knowledge, curricular knowledge, and knowledge about learners and their backgrounds. While we understand what teachers need to know, judging how to apply that knowledge is still a crucial task in improving instruction. Moreover, since subject matter is an important context for teaching, we must not underemphasize the influence of subject matter on instructional practices.

Research also reveals much about student learning. It depends greatly on students' existing knowledge and prior experiences. Learning involves activation of learners' existing knowledge structures rather than passive assimilation. While student learning exhibits common cognitive patterns, social dimensions are also important. Family and school environments, cultural capital, racial stratification, and tracking all influence students' opportunities to learn. Family background in particular can influence parental involvement and student engagement in learning, with poor and minority students experiencing less positive influences.

Teachers' beliefs and expectations can also have great impact on opportunities to learn. Teachers tend to hold low opinions of low-income, Black, and female students' intellectual capacity. Believing that poor children are unable to handle advanced instruction, teachers tend to assign these students less demanding work. Teachers who assume that students' disadvantages cannot be overcome are less likely to engage them in creating knowledge. Teachers' assumptions

may stem from cultural mismatches between them and their students, which can lead to misinterpretation of students' cognitive abilities. Linguistic differences and culturally rooted student behaviors can lead teachers to stereotyped expectations that tend to reduce learners' self-image and cause them to exert less effort.

The Classroom and the Professional Community

To improve instructional capacity, we must enhance teacher learning in the classroom and the professional community. These are themselves influenced by school structures and processes. Research suggests several structures and processes that are necessary (if not sufficient) for improving schools:

- developing an instructional vision shared by members of the school staff;
- developing and managing a school culture, or collective belief system, conducive to conversations about instruction by building norms of trust and collaboration among staff;
- procuring and distributing resources for improvement, including materials, time, support, and compensation;
- supporting teacher growth and development, both individually and for the faculty; and
- providing both formative and summative monitoring of instruction and of the implementation of innovation that focuses on collective responsibility for student learning.

Unfortunately, identifying these requirements leaves unknown both the relations between school improvement and classroom instruction and the

interactions among the requirements in shaping teachers' professional community.

Although teachers believe that improved student performance is a powerful motive for instructional change, school reformers tend to focus not on the classroom but on curriculum and external standards. Moreover, classrooms are rarely viewed as sites of teacher learning. Yet to learn new and effective approaches, teachers must examine their classroom practices and beliefs. Examining their students' thinking while trying new approaches helps teachers develop new knowledge.

Research suggests that school improvement requires the development of professional communities. Typically practicing in school structures that leave little time for collective work, teachers experience relationships of widely varying strength with colleagues in their schools. Findings show that teachers who do find a network of colleagues with whom to discuss practice are more likely to be improving their practice in ways that can affect student learning. These findings correlate with research indicating that teaching methods are unlikely to change without socially supportive environments. Professional community can also foster consensus about acceptable student behavior and what students need to learn. This consensus can facilitate learning gains.

Organizational Learning: The Bridge

To bridge the gap between classrooms and the professional community, organizational learning of new knowledge and skills is important. It transcends the aggregated learning of individual members. Members learn as an ensemble possessing a distinctive culture supporting

innovation. Shared vision and inquiry, collectively held models, and increased professional mastery are necessary to organizational problem solving. A school organization that learns works efficiently, responding quickly to change and to errors.

Research has generally not linked schools' improved organizational learning with improvements in student learning. But the literature suggests that characteristics of learning in organizations can be adapted to enhance student learning. Improved adult relationships in schools—the professional community—are yoked with improved means for instructional improvement—conceptual tools enabling critical analysis of school and classroom activities affecting student learning.

Challenges to School Leadership

The instruction-based model of school improvement described here suggests several challenges for school leadership. The leadership profession must be reoriented toward teaching and learning. Without an understanding of the knowledge necessary for teachers to teach well, school leaders cannot perform essential school improvement functions like monitoring instruction and supporting teacher development. A central challenge for leadership research and leadership preparation programs will be determining what school leaders need to know in particular subject areas in order to improve their schools.

Leaders must develop a distributed understanding of the profession, since no individual can master all the knowledge needed to enact school improvement processes successfully. It should be better realized that assistant principals, curriculum specialists, and teachers play roles in school improvement. Moreover, it will be important to analyze a

leader's knowledge and beliefs in relation to those of his fellow leaders. The individual cannot be the sole focus of research on distributed leadership; the school may be a more appropriate focus.

School leaders must take responsibility for promoting social trust by supporting structural features that can enhance social trust, like teacher schedules and frequent meetings. Administrators must also encourage interdependent teaching roles through coteaching, peer coaching, and teams. Effective school administration will permit strong teacher voice and will counter the inhibiting effects of school size and complexity on professional community.

Finally, leaders face the challenge of cultivating professional networks beyond the school building. Crucial to changing instructional practice is sustained interaction between teachers and outsiders who use research to question conventional practice. This interaction should take the form of the discipline- and project-focused networks that engage teacher commitment and facilitate rewarding deliberations about instruction. Since such networks are externally organized and funded, leaders must work hard to sustain connections between their schools and these sources of school improvement.

Conclusion

If school improvement is to make a difference for children, it must be focused on improving the core technology of schools—instruction. Instructional improvement depends on instructional capacity, which depends on both individual and organizational learning in the school. The challenges faced by school leaders in developing such improvement deserve further inquiry and action research. #

Leadership for Democratic Community in Schools

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This chapter asks what it would mean for democratic community to be the center of educational leadership reform. From longstanding discussions of democratic communities in schools, it has emerged that such communities involve open inquiry; work for the common good; respect the rights of all; and create democratic structures, processes, and curriculum.

These discussions are extended here to explore linkages between democratic community and school leadership. The chapter rethinks problematic concepts of democracy and community, analyzes relations between a new notion of democratic community and educational leadership, and considers the challenges involved in implementing democratic communities.

Problematizing Community

Current understandings of community in education tend to reflect earlier social conditions that emphasized commonalities among members and distinct community boundaries. However, community today tends to be experienced not through gathering with those like us but through temporary membership in multiple organizations. Community is more transitory and pragmatic than in the past.

Schools mirror today's diverse, fragmented communities, making it difficult to recreate traditional communities there. Moreover, attempts to do so may encourage granting primacy to one set of values, disregarding today's diverse communal values. A new understanding of community is needed that accepts cooperation within difference. Current concepts of community in education also tend to view schools as

isolated communities struggling for cohesion amid threatening outside forces. Even when schools are linked to local communities, differences between schools and communities may be overemphasized, and the superiority of schools over deficient ambient cultures may be assumed.

However, an alternate view is emerging: schools contribute to developing their communities' assets in partnerships devoted to the common good. This new understanding of community focuses on the integral connections between schools, communities, and the larger global community.

Problematizing Democracy

Democracy in schools has been minimal; practices such as freedom of choice and expression are seldom experienced there. Students and educators are expected to conform to hierarchically imposed decisions about learning and behavior. Democracy is typically taught not through practice but through abstract social studies curricula. Such minimal education cannot foster true, participatory democracy. Moreover, the dominant understanding of democracy in America emphasizes freedom to pursue self-interest, with participation in government limited to electing representatives. This "thin" understanding contrasts with a "thick" understanding of democracy. Thick democracy requires citizens who are able to debate issues concerning the common good of the community and who hold values that foster that good.

Democracy in schools follows the self-interest conception, with schools concerned with strategies that optimize students' chances to pursue goals freely. However, if democracy also involves mutual understanding in working for the common good in a diverse society, then a thicker practice of democracy in schools seems called for.

Rethinking Democratic Community in Schools

Democracy that addresses current needs should be guided by key values, including the worth of individuals, open inquiry and critique, the responsibility of individuals to deliberate about collective choices, and transcendence of understandings of democracy associated with specific nations. Democracy implies mutual understandings and a social morality through which individuals act for and with others, beyond individual and national interests.

In schools, democratic community that is guided by these values will practice thick democracy. In today's diverse society, community depends on intentional civic participation with a deep respect for difference, and democracy should be motivated by a communitarian sense of interdependence. Enactment of democratic community in schools is a systemic challenge involving structures, processes, and curricula. Schools that are focused on this challenge will center their work on processes of democratic participation and the morality of democratic community.

Schools that are building democratic communities should establish processes that allow all in the school community to participate voluntarily in those decisions that affect them. The settings for participation should allow face-to-face interactions to take place. Students should work with teachers, reaching decisions about classroom issues through democratic deliberation. They might engage in meetings guided by a process of democratic deliberation involving four stages: information sharing, reactions, ideas and strategy development, and debriefing.

Furthermore, both significant parent involvement and broad-based community participation should be nurtured through shared governance, communication, and meeting structures that promote understanding. Participants should develop the abilities needed to debate and resolve conflicts in a spirit of interdependence through training and practice in skills of democratic dialogue.

A democratic community also requires a guiding moral sense that values open inquiry, individuals' assets and differences, and interdependence. Although this inclusive approach to community may conflict with narrow self-interests, civic cohesiveness within today's diverse society depends on values of inclusive sociality and civility. Schools practicing democratic community should continually promote these values. Educators and older students should model the values and develop habits of caring for fellow members of the school community.

A democratic school should have a democratic curriculum open to multiple ideas and critique. The curriculum must be grounded in the theme of the interconnectedness of human life across cultures and with nature. Changes in teaching practice should complement curricular changes. Processes of democratic deliberation must pervade classroom learning and decision making, for example, through debates of differing perspectives to teach respect for difference.

Leadership for Democratic Community in Schools

Leadership for democratic community requires explicit attempts to

bring democracy to life in schools. Though little is known about what leadership practices foster democratic community, the following working hypotheses, aligned with current leadership research, define practices that might do so.

First, democratic leadership is democratic and communal, making administration a shared responsibility among those in the best position to lead. While a principal may be best placed to construct smaller classrooms, curriculum committees may be best placed to implement curricular alternatives.

Second, democratic leadership is *processual*. Leaders attend to the flow of concerns and decisions within schools while modeling and facilitating deliberative processes.

Finally, democratic leadership is *moral*, acting from commitment to the moral sense of democratic communities. Leaders do not impose values, but instead they gain consensus for collaborative learning that respects different assets and voices.

The realization of these hypotheses requires leaders who are committed to democratic values and processes. Since such commitments are currently rare in public schooling, recruitment and preparation programs for school leaders should foster democratic practices. Principals trained in these practices must model democratic processes and values in ways that can be replicated and sustained in teacher meetings and classrooms.

The Challenges of Enacting Democratic Community in Schools

Critics argue that democracy in schools is currently threatened by policies that are linked to powerful corporate influences. Against these influences, no effective civic opposition exists. These policies tend to reinforce the valuing of individual

benefit over the common good. Associated with these policies are assumptions about education that run counter to attempts to focus schools on democratic community. These assumptions include the following: the purpose of schools is to serve economic interests; the success of schools can be determined by measurable student achievement; individual motivation to learn is primarily economic; and since teaching is a technical activity, teachers can be held accountable for student achievement. These attitudes reinforce practices that ensure that striving for personal success crowds out democratic processes in schools.

Given this mindset, leadership for democratic community requires proactive leadership at all levels in order to democratize both school practices and broader policy. Leaders must address resistance due to entrenched assumptions about the purpose of schooling, local interests, and misunderstandings about the meaning of democratic community. Democratic change involves the resolution of strong disagreements, and shaping schools as democratic communities will require sustained effort.

Conclusion

This chapter suggests that democratic community should be the center for educational leadership. Democratic community can overcome the marginalization that many students suffer, because it is based on the appreciation of difference. It can also reculture the profession by focusing on the purpose of leadership—serving the common good. Finally, democratic community is an appropriate focus for leadership in diverse, fragmented schools in which democratic practices can bring all individuals and groups involved in learning together.

Leadership for Social Justice

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Inequity in our society has become so institutionalized in the theories, norms, and practices of public institutions that it remains unexamined and uncorrected. Even educators believe that injustice, in the forms of disparity, discrimination, and bias in schools is natural. inevitable, and unalterable. Yet some educational theorists feel that social justice can be achieved, in part, through reformed leadership. They believe that greater educational equity requires not just the affirmation of principles but proactive leadership committed to change. This lack of action toward social justice results partly from the overtly technical-rational orientation of the educational leadership profession, a by-product of corporate management theories applied to education. Social justice theorists, however, view schools not as organizations to be technically managed but as institutions for the public good that require strong leadership to prepare citizens for a more socially just society.

Over the past three decades, theorists have moved the social justice literature through three progressive strands of inquiry: questioning existing logics of leadership; portraying alternative images of leadership; and constructing theories, systems, and processes of leadership for social justice. This review of social justice literature offers insights that can heighten awareness of the images, dispositions, and practices of leadership necessary for enhancing social justice in education.

Questioning Established Logics in Leadership Theory and Practice

Thirty years ago, researchers began to explore how dominant assumptions maintained inequity.

They challenged the assumption that schools are objective systems; rather, they are products of human construction reflecting the values of those who create and sustain them. Scholars also showed that allegiance to leadership theories based on universal and hierarchical visions of schooling have perpetuated inequity. They argued that educational systems that claim to be "universal" or "difference-blind" fail to challenge inequalities even though these are often blatant.

The growing presence of African Americans and women in leadership preparation programs stimulated interest in gender and ethnicgroup equity issues. Feminist critique claimed that the profession's established images of leadership, taken from male experience, discounted women in leadership roles and blocked new visions of leadership. Other scholars invoked critical race theory and multicultural frameworks to challenge the racialized logic underlying research paradigms and practice in educational leadership.

Portraying Alternative Images of Leadership Theory and Practice

Although critics of established leadership made important contributions to understanding educational inequity, they stopped short of articulating the ideas and practices needed to redress the biases it exposed. When these biases became more recognized, other critics developed alternative images of leadership that would bring forward previously marginalized voices.

As more women and minority members entered educational administration, research in studying the leadership of marginalized groups gained impetus. It was found that women often construct and enact leadership differently than men. For example, women leaders often promote an ethic of care rooted in concerns for relationships rather than roles. This ethic can be a starting point for changing hierarchical, rolebased leadership.

Scholars also argued that academic uncertainties for children of color highlight a need for leaders who understand Black families and communities. Minority administrators, particularly women of color, gained national attention by becoming successful leaders of hitherto underresourced schools. They consistently believe in the ability of all African American children to learn and have a deep understanding of and compassion for the children and communities they serve. African American principals often develop deep community relationships and resist institutionalized norms harmful to Black students. By examining the successes of leaders such as these, researchers expanded their profession's understanding of what characterizes and defines successful leadership for minority communities.

Some leadership literature focused on spirituality—demanding a deep involvement and immersion in a world where everything is holy, if not yet completely so-arguing that the profession's failure to recognize spiritual aspects of leadership is problematic. Spirituality often inspires leaders, particularly African American women, to achieve social justice in education. A spiritual ethic of love, for example, motivates many leaders to assume responsibility for the welfare of those they lead. A study of principals motivated by a love ethic showed how it can transform educational experiences and outcomes. This literature showed that decisions based on spiritual principles are necessary for establishing just relationships with marginalized groups.

Constructing Theories, Systems, and Processes of Leadership for Social Justice

Most recently, scholars have worked to reconstruct the theories and systems that the aforementioned process of inquiry dismantled by rethinking leadership for marginalized school communities, organizing multicultural communities through democratic leadership, and developing human capacity through education.

Examining the leadership of women and minorities has helped researchers see the importance of putting children and families, rather than hierarchy and roles, at the core of leadership. To empower children and families, leaders must oppose oppression reinforced through conventional hierarchical leadership practices. Leaders should reconstruct education for marginalized populations to place the primary concerns of the marginalized at the center of their learning. Doing so may mitigate the mistrust that many poor and minority populations feel for well-intentioned school leaders, mistrust that can frustrate dialogue. The social theorist Paulo Freire maintains that marginalized groups should engage leaders in dialogue about the directions of their education on the basis of the validity of their own experience.

Social justice theorists recognize that relationships between school leaders and communities must change to improve the education of disadvantaged children. Many argue that schools ought to be community-centered and more democratic in leadership. They warn, however, that the accepted view of

democracy as simply a process of reaching agreement can silence issues of injustice. Strong schoolcommunity relationships in diverse communities require learning to talk across differences, not simply to reach consensus. Dialogue about social, racial, and economic disparities is vital, as are leaders willing to confront injustice in their schools. Leaders must enhance democratic processes, foster inclusion and participation, and increase public discourse about issues. Further, they must realize that where the dominant language is that of control and engineering, the language of compassion and justice will certainly arouse resistance. Leaders must change the prevalent language about the purpose of schools to a discourse more conducive to social justice as well as respond to specific inequities.

Social justice researchers maintain that a key purpose of education is developing human capability so that people can break free of the hardships wrought by poverty and discrimination. While promoters of the basic-skills curriculum to meet current trends toward standardized testing argue that these efforts develop capacity, social justice research counters that these trends ignore the fact that greater equity in education requires much more than higher test scores. Indeed, poor performance on "normalized" national testing typically reflects economic and political disadvantages and disparities in the larger communities. The Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen argues that greater equality requires a shift away from values that focus on achievement while ignoring disparities in the freedom to achieve. Researchers should examine the links between individual capacities and freedom to achieve. Conditions of poverty or inequality should determine policy choices; school leaders should both recognize inequality and address it in their decisions. Leaders must know that hardships affect both the freedom to achieve and the educational outcomes of children in their schools, and they must pursue strategies to overcome those hardships.

Like Sen, the philosopher Martha Nussbaum believes the lack of focus on cultural and individual variety leads to unjust policies and practices. School leaders, recognizing obstacles to the development of capability and the importance of capability to educational growth, should support students' human needs for physical, mental, and emotional integrity. From this perspective, the reduction of the curriculum of poor children to instruction in basic test-taking skills is problematic, since it ignores the equal protection from discrimination and the treatment with dignity necessary for fully human learning. Schools structured by leaders who respond to this need for greater, broad-based support of human capacities make disadvantaged children's life chances much more equitable. Consequently, successful students will often perform better in testing as well as in other important contexts.

Conclusion

Dissatisfaction with conditions in our schools has fueled interest in a rethinking of leadership theory and practice that enhances social justice by developing leaders who work with their communities to dedicate educational resources toward the real needs of children and families. The body of inquiry examined here illustrates the types of work such leadership will require and indicates the limitations of failing to connect educational leadership to critical, broader issues. This literature thus provides insight into the powerful work in which leadership can and ought to engage for the advancement of social justice in education.

Exploring New Approaches to Teacher Leadership for School Improvement

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Although teacher leadership is an established feature of educational reform, it was only 20 years ago that most literature on school improvement focused on principals and superintendents. Though the idea of teacher leadership is not new, the conception of this role has evolved considerably since the 1980s. This chapter begins with a historical review of teacher leadership. Then it explores three new approaches to teacher leadership that have emerged in the past decade: teacher research, distributive school leadership, and self-managed teacher teams.

Teacher Leadership in Historical Perspective

The teacher has been considered an organizational leader since the one-room schoolhouse of the 19th century. With the advent of professional school administration in the 20th century, teacher leadership became an issue of workplace democracy. Critics of professional administration argued that schools could not teach democratic principles without functioning democratically. Teacher participation in policymaking was thought to be an important part of democratic school leadership. Such critique inspired efforts to democratize school leadership throughout the first half of the century.

Efforts to promote teacher leadership were renewed in the 1970s and 1980s in response to regulatory reforms. Opportunities for teacher leadership included mentoring programs, master teacher appointments, and policies to involve teachers in administration. These initiatives viewed teacher leadership as an instrument of school improvement that

would facilitate problem solving by involving the people closest to the problems. The initiatives were also considered a means of empowering individual teachers. It was assumed that variation and expansion of teachers' responsibilities, including increased leadership with commensurate recognition and compensation, would increase motivation, satisfaction, and performance.

Since the mid-1990s, thinking about teacher leadership has shifted from this approach based on individual, role-based empowerment, partly because evidence on the effectiveness of such empowerment initiatives was equivocal. It was not always clear how teachers were to perform in new leadership roles or how these roles related to student learning. The roles did little to improve schools, while they caused stress and role conflict for many teachers. Moreover, lessons learned from recent school improvement efforts have shown that improvement depends less on structural changes than on the development of teachers' knowledge, abilities, and commitment, which are more likely to change the social organization and culture of schools.

Three New Approaches to Teacher Leadership

Each of these approaches moves past the idea of individual leadership in formal positions to more dynamic, organizational views of leadership. Initial evidence indicates that these modes of teacher leadership are more conducive to school improvement than earlier ones. The approaches are also consistent with recent literature defining leadership as a social process aimed at a collective end.

TEACHER RESEARCH AS LEADERSHIP

The first approach sees leadership in teachers' efforts to develop new knowledge from inquiry in their schools and classrooms. Teacher research encompasses all forms of teacher inquiry that involve the systematic, intentional, and self-critical study of teaching. Advocates contend that teacher research provides useful knowledge for the larger educational community and challenges the predominance of university research. Moreover, teacher researchers tend to increase their sense of promoting change and become more reflective, critical, and analytical about their own teaching and the schooling practices around them.

The literature examining teacher research reports positive outcomes. Collaborations among teachers to identify, research, and address school problems have been effective. Teacher research groups have developed school programs and policies. According to teachers, their research experience enhances their ability to promote school change, though they do not necessarily see themselves as leaders as they perform leadership tasks. Studies of teacher research indicate that collaboration between administrators and teachers on inquiry related to school improvement promotes a sense of individual and collective efficacy.

Models of Distributive Leadership

In the second approach, distributing leadership across roles influences school improvement. Attention in this approach shifts from individual roles to organizational tasks. Three related models of distributive leadership have recently emerged in the literature.

One model views leadership as the performance of key functions (for example, providing vision and encouragement, obtaining resources, monitoring improvement, and handling internal and external disturbances) rather than the fulfillment of formal roles. In this view, it is more important that work be done well than that a particular individual perform it. A study of elementary schools that introduced a new curriculum found that key functions were performed by numerous people, including administrators, teachers, and outside consultants. When people in different roles performed similar functions, the resulting complementary redundancy enhanced the effectiveness of the functions.

A second model describes leadership as an organization-wide resource of power and influence that occurs through interaction. Leadership influence is not unidirectional; it can flow between levels and units and is thus distributed across roles. One study found that individuals in different roles influenced different organizational outcomes. For example, principals and teachers influenced organizational commitment, while parent leadership affected student attendance and achievement. Another study concluded that total leadership influence, as an indicator of the distribution of influence across roles, was related positively to the effectiveness of school organization.

A third, task-oriented model sees leadership as the interaction of school leaders, followers, and situations. Leadership encompasses the practice of two or more leaders in their interactions with followers. Followers not only have an influence on leaders' actions but also are an essential constituting element of the social interaction that is leadership activity. Moreover, situation

both determines and is determined by leadership. Case studies show that leaders who work interdependently on tasks can contribute to effective performance more than any one leader can.

These models of distributive leadership indicate that teachers can and do perform important leadership tasks both inside and outside of formal positions of authority. School leadership is enhanced by the knowledge, skills, and commitment that teachers contribute. Teacher leadership adds value to administrative leadership in terms of influence on school improvement and student outcomes. Whether or not they occupy formal leadership positions, teachers can exert influence simply by participating in the social relationships that constitute school organizations.

LEADERSHIP OF TEAMS

The third approach stresses self-managed teams for promoting teacher collaboration, learning, and problem solving. These teams are commonly small task groups in which members have a common purpose, interdependent roles, and complementary skills. Schools may create teams to increase the responsibilities of teachers and to expand opportunities for self-direction. Teams of teachers may lead by promoting school improvement and by exerting normative influence over members who shape each other's ideas and actions. This leadership can reduce the need for administrative control

Research indicates that effective teams require contexts that support them through rewards, training, clear requirements, and lack of constraints. Teams also require strong internal leadership from teachers who are experienced with teams and strong external leadership from administrators who enhance team

members' sense of efficacy and autonomy. Thus supported, teams can accomplish particular tasks while they increase work motivation and job satisfaction. Teaming can reduce isolation and focus teachers' work on student learning. Teachers in teams tend to address student problems earlier and be more proactive in changing classroom practice than colleagues not in teams.

However, research has found the effects of teams on whole school improvement less encouraging, partly because teams can experience serious problems coordinating activities and reaching agreement on strategic issues at the organizational level. Though teams can promote rethinking and experimentation that can change practice, strong external leadership is needed to coordinate team work at the school level and to avoid organizational fragmentation.

Conclusion

These three approaches emphasize the importance of collective leadership aimed at developing school organization, curriculum, and instruction. School leadership should center on important functions, not simply people and positions, as a primary means of promoting school improvement. While we should develop collective leadership capacity, principals remain crucial to teacher leadership, since they know best how to support and manage new forms of leadership. These new forms are likely to be effective only if supported in their broader organizational contexts. School contexts that resist teacher leadership by allowing little time for its realization must be changed. Given contextual support, these collective, task-oriented, and organizational approaches hold greater promise than earlier efforts aimed at developing teachers as leaders. #

Reshaping the Role of the School Principal

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The modern tension between technological change and traditional values in American culture characterizes the context in which the role of the school principal is currently being reshaped. Schools are traditional centers of community. But they are also confronting rapid social and technological changes. Understanding the principal's changing role is important, since evidence indicates that principals make schools better places to work and learn. This chapter describes the reshaping of the principalship, first identifying how work roles generally have become more complex and then examining the internal and external complexities that are transforming the principalship.

Changing Work Roles in the 21st Century

In the industrial society of the last century, work was highly rationalized through the streamlining, simplification, and automation of organizational and industrial processes. Industrial-era work involved standardized procedures, and it deemphasized human agency in favor of mechanization. Work roles featured limited contact with other roles. Moreover, efficiency and quantity of individual achievement were the chief criteria for work assessment. These characteristics of work in industrial society served schools well, allowing the spread of mass education and inspiring parental trust. However, they increased rigidity and segmentation, which are dysfunctional in today's society.

Society has now entered a postindustrial phase that is based less on industrial processes and machines than on an explosive growth in information and on concomitant rapid change. As a result, work roles now emphasize the ability to respond to complexity. Postindustrial work is less standardized and more customized. In today's dynamic schools, emerging problems cannot be solved with standardized procedures. Customized responses, such as creating individualized lesson plans for atrisk students, are necessary.

Human agency has also become important in postindustrial work. School leaders cannot rely on applying existing knowledge mechanically. As agents who must solve problems using individual judgment, they must continually develop new understandings to address changing demographics, existing understandings of learning, and technologies of teaching, as well as changing political, legal, economic, and organizational features of schools.

Another feature of postindustrial work is increased contact among roles, with collaboration essential to solving complex problems. Self-managed teams with shared leadership are becoming more common in schools. An example of such lateral organization is interdisciplinary teacher teams.

Assessment of today's workforce emphasizes innovation, creativity, collaboration, and use of others' perspectives. The principal in postindustrial society is valued less for decisiveness and firmness than for flexibility and sensitivity to complex environments. Principals must redefine their roles to address rapid change while acknowledging that schools should be communities.

Internal Complexity and the Principal's Role

Educational policy today is marked by societal tension between

industrial and postindustrial perspectives, between improving schools through standardized measures of professional and student achievement and meeting educational challenges locally through innovation. Principals are often caught between these perspectives. But transcending this conflict is the fact that successful schools are able to meet the context-specific realities they face by organizing in ways that fully utilize their bank of knowledge and skills. This means that the orientations of principals toward leadership practice must expand.

The postindustrial shift from hierarchical bureaucracies to networks of interacting professionals requires leaders capable of building strong professional communities that foster teacher collaboration, dialogue, and learning. Establishing such communities requires that principals become collaborative instructional leaders guiding the development of school improvement that, while based on scientific research, is tailored to school contexts. Principals must also be open to leadership from within the professional community.

Studies show positive outcomes in schools with strong professional communities. In some schools, achievement inequities are diminished, and gains in math, reading, and science performance are seen. Teachers working in strong professional communities hold high expectations for students and enjoy supportive teacher—principal relationships. Professional community enhances teacher support from colleagues, motivates teacher and student learning, and inspires shared commitment.

Principals must nurture these benefits, sharing leadership with

teachers. The principal's role is evolving from a controlling to an empowering one. School leadership involves a web of social relationships that principals should sustain through three leadership modes: interactional, collaborative, and democratic.

Interactionally, principals promote beneficial exchanges among otherwise disconnected groups. They transform traditional top-down communication patterns into open patterns that foster the spread of shared values and innovation.

Collaboratively, principals encourage relations that create professional communities. They attend to the political conflicts that can interfere with group efforts and help teachers negotiate the tension between autonomy and whole school improvement.

Democratically, principals stress the moral dimension of school leadership, modeling openness and honesty, full participation in the development of ideas, and compassion. These modes of leadership combine to open schools to change.

Principals' activities must evolve as schools do. Principals must become change agents motivating teachers to learn. They must ensure that professional development in their schools is valued and meets teacher and student needs. Principals' activities should also be oriented toward fostering shared decision making driven by issues directly related to student learning. Moreover, to model desired teacher behaviors, principals must develop deep content and pedagogical knowledge that they use to help teachers identify and solve problems.

External Complexity and the Principal's Role

While focusing on the internal complexity of schools is critical, principals must also be aware of the

larger environment in which schools operate. The following three aspects of this environment in particular affect principals and the school community.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Given current trends toward holding schools accountable for student achievement and research showing that effective instructional leadership characterizes effective schools, principals should be the central figures in school accountability. As instructional leaders, effective principals rely on empirical data to facilitate curricular and instructional decisions. They analyze and reflect on the consequences of those decisions while making teaching and learning the shared responsibility of all stakeholders. They find solutions to the challenges of increased accountability, which include fiscal cuts, school probation, and even closure.

MARKET VIABILITY

The desire for greater accountability has also stimulated marketoriented views of schooling, which assume that schools competing among other schools of choice are compelled to improve in order to attract and retain students and that principals must promote schools of choice, becoming more responsive to families' educational needs. Research confirms that principals spend increased time marketing schools of choice. Evidence also shows that school choice enlarges the principals' environmental management functions, particularly parent outreach.

It remains unclear whether such management diminishes the time that principals allocate for internal leadership. It is also unclear how greater choice affects activities of principals of schools of choice toward fostering community and activities of principals of traditional schools toward retaining good students.

CIVIC CAPACITY

As a result of social changes increasing the numbers of students with disadvantages, many schools have taken new civic roles as social workers, health care providers, and character developers. In such schools, principals must be key leaders who build civic capacity at the school site. They are vital to coordinating public and private efforts toward supporting students at risk. Principals should build community support by forming partnerships with businesses, serving on key stakeholder groups, and working closely with social agencies that assist families. They should work to create broad-based coalitions to rejuvenate school neighborhoods. Building civic capacity also requires principals to take the attitude that their schools cannot succeed without community resources that will increase their students' chances of success.

Conclusion

The reshaping of the principal's role is taking place in a context where future and past, change and continuity, are in conflict. Principals work in increasingly complex settings where people's lives and hopes confront societal injustices, uncertainties, and demands. Every day, school leaders adapt their strategies and activities to these settings. They must balance the need for fostering an effective professional community with the need for meeting demands for accountability, market viability, and civic capacity. As they reshape their roles to meet these demands, principals are experiencing stressful expectations yet guiding their school communities and themselves—toward exciting growth opportunities.

Shifts in the Discourse Defining the Superintendency Historical and Current Foundations of the Position

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Reformers have suggested that the defining center for educational leadership positions, including the superintendency, be founded upon public concerns for social justice and school improvement. This chapter uses an historical analysis to examine the discourse of the superintendency—which has changed over time in accordance with social, political, and economic forces—to determine what has shaped the role in the past and what is likely to shape it in the future. The chapter ends with a discussion of the challenges facing the currently defined superintendency.

Five Discursive Stages of the Superintendency, 1820–1980

The discourse of the superintendency shows that from 1820 to 1980, the role passed through five stages. In the first stage, extending from 1820 to 1850, superintendency positions did not formally exist, in part because early American government had a strong antiexecutive tradition. Instead, clerks assisted boards of education with activities related to schooling. Educational discourse was based on religious ideology which argued that believers should be well educated in order to participate in the rewards of a redeemer nation. Schools were viewed as a force for national unity even while they were controlled by local communities. At this stage, common school advocates promoted the notion that individual schoolmen were to serve schools while collective bodies of citizens were to govern them.

In the second stage, which extended from 1850 to 1900, increasing diversity in the nation led to debate over the religious focus of

education. This debate led to the gradual elimination of religious teaching and to the homogenization of schooling. Schools became responsible for educating young citizens for democratic citizenship; in turn, governments became responsible for the funding of public education. Thus superintendents, who were increasingly appointed to oversee districts as schooling became more complex, were concerned with furthering national educational goals.

The superintendency was largely focused on instructional tasks delegated by the school boards that still controlled superintendents, who were seen as master educators. By the century's end, however, many believed that administrative duties, including business management and instructional supervision, should be controlled by superintendents to reform inefficient and sometimes corrupt school boards. Superintendents gained executive power and credibility, and boards shrank to legislative bodies no longer directly concerned with school management.

During the third stage, which spanned the years between 1900 and 1954, economic growth transformed education. Superintendents responded to pressures to increase business values such as efficiency and productivity in educational institutions. Eventually, the image of the superintendent changed from that of a scholar to that of a businessman. Meanwhile, conservative governmental control of education increased, reinforcing corporate, bureaucratic structures in school systems. A business-focused description of the superintendency held sway in training programs, and

these programs became almost exclusively concerned with technical and business aspects of the position.

The role of the superintendency shifted again in the period from 1954 to 1970. Public dissatisfaction with education in this fourth stage led to calls for community responsiveness that required superintendents to communicate with the public. Political challenges like the civil rights movement put new pressures on superintendents to respond to external demands, and social justice issues became a significant part of the discourse of the superintendency. The role broadened to make the superintendent a district spokesperson and community advisor.

During the 1970s, public dissatisfaction deepened, and the superintendency entered a fifth stage. The public called increasingly for districts to become accountable for educating all children. Superintendents came under pressure from interest groups and state legislatures, which were assuming more control of education. The vulnerability of superintendents to the political agendas of school boards increased.

The Current Superintendency, 1980s and Beyond

Since the 1970s, the superintendency has passed through two further important stages. In the 1980s, the superintendency was described as a role in which corporate leadership skills were combined with political maneuvering. The 1983 *A Nation at Risk* report outlined serious flaws in American education and further politicized education. Politicians soon were pressuring educators to strengthen standards, test more rigorously, and provide more school choice. Interest in systemic

reform to respond to political pressure led to resurgent scholarly inquiry that laid groundwork for redefining the superintendency. In this stage, reformers called for superintendents to increase their knowledge of ways to improve performance and distribute leadership effectively. Further, as superintendents' positional power diminished, they were increasingly faced with the need to be responsive to multiple and diverse pressures from policymakers and other stakeholders in education.

This diminished power and the need to respond to external pressures have moved the role of the superintendency to another stage since the 1990s. Both scholars and practitioners have called for superintendents to reform schools in ways that support the learning of *all* children. Reformers agree that schools and districts require systemic restructuring to decrease administrative bureaucracy and increase involvement of teachers, parents, and the community in educational leadership.

In this climate of reform, superintendents are challenged with
understanding and explaining the
importance of school reform for a
sound economy and a democratic
society in school and community environments that are becoming increasingly diverse. In this discursive
stage, political and moral dimensions
of the leadership role of superintendents in changing the nature of
schooling and schools have taken
precedence over the conventional
management practices that have been
predominant aspects of the role in the
past.

Moreover, recent discourse emphasizes the need for superintendents to focus on improving learning throughout the school community. It seems likely that building community capacity to enhance learning in schools will be salient in future

conceptions of the superintendency. Developing participatory mechanisms and professional development for teachers will be important parts of the role. Also influential will be the current notion that leadership should be more decentralized and democratic.

The recent discourse of the superintendency includes ideas for reconceiving the superintendency in response to public scrutiny, a perceived loss of depth in candidate pools for superintendent positions, increased conflict between boards and superintendents, and the need to educate all students to high levels. New conceptions emphasize reframing the position to facilitate collaboration, generate knowledge, and transform school districts through justice and caring. One notable conception by Margaret Grogan advocates five approaches to the position:

- working through others,
- being comfortable with contradiction.
- appreciating dissent,
- developing critical awareness of how students are served, and
- adopting an ethic of care.

Challenges Facing the Newly Defined Superintendency

While the literature indicates progress toward embracing new definitions of the role, some embedded beliefs and attitudes about educational leadership inhibit full acceptance of this newly described work. The emphasis on distributed leadership and involving community stakeholders in making decisions indicates progress. However, the acknowledged tension between building community and achieving external standards reflects opposition between new collaborative and old bureaucratic attitudes.

Moreover, while the current focus on student learning corresponds

with Grogan's student-centered approach, unless combined with an ethic of care, the focus represents business as usual. To improve student achievement *and* care for the whole child, superintendents must become more active, for example, by convincing state policymakers to refine testing systems so that they are fair and appropriate.

Other challenges to the superintendency need attention. It will be difficult for many superintendents to surrender some control, appreciate dissent, and lead collaboratively. But in gaining insight into the pluralistic contexts in which they operate, they can find new solutions to the problems confronting today's educational systems. To be sure, superintendents must be devoted to eliminating inequities and raising achievement scores for students outside the mainstream. They must develop critical awareness of who is not served well by current practices and make decisions that will not overlook the interests of any students. Superintendents must also scrutinize their own notions of what constitutes community in districts that include members of diverse backgrounds.

Conclusion

The current discourse of the superintendency recognizes the need for social justice and school improvement. At the heart of today's superintendency is a renewed focus on instructional leadership, a return to a traditional aspect of the role. New, however, is the call for sharing power with internal and external communities. Will change diminish the superintendency or make it a strong position in which individuals use collective power for social change? The future of the position lies in encouraging superintendents to embrace the concept of power "with" instead of power "over." ₩

Repositioning Lay Leadership

Policymaking and Democratic Deliberation

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Today's public schools are charged with educating youth from diverse homes in elaborate institutions with multiple goals. The challenge for professional school leaders is to synthesize differing perspectives on education into a vision for instruction toward which schools can move. The challenge for lay school leaders is to represent multiple voices while implementing governmental mandates and agreeing on local purpose and policy. Lay leaders must cooperate within both formal and informal forums for democratic deliberation on community values.

Complicating lay leadership is a struggle for control among stake-holders whose decisions are mediated by the differing influences of markets, governments, and voluntary associations. This chapter examines the functions and benefits of lay school leadership, exploring historical paradoxes of control that influence lay leadership, discussing the realities lay leaders face, proposing the repositioning of lay leadership, and indicating challenges for professional leaders in collaborating with lay leaders.

Historical Paradoxes of Control

Education in America began as a local responsibility controlled by lay leadership from the community. Yet states and the federal government eventually gained more oversight of schools, because education was seen as necessary for the happiness of individual citizens and an educated population as necessary for democratic government. Tensions between local and government control grew as the nation did. Local school boards were increasingly challenged both to represent local interests and to carry

out the mandates of the larger society as expressed through state and federal legislation. Though local school boards historically controlled public education, the board was a political subdivision of the state; board members were state officials answerable to the legislature. Nevertheless, district residents expected board members to respond to local needs.

Meanwhile, local education became more complex as cities and towns grew and district structures developed. As a result, lay boards created professional positions to manage day-to-day operations, at first to supervise instruction and later to assume the management functions of districts. Eventually, tension arose between lay and professional leadership about whether community leaders should control or merely participate in decision making.

Such historical confusion about control was exacerbated in the course of the past century by the existence of state boards of education with powers coextensive with those of local boards. Movement away from local control grew in the 1950s, as civil rights suits corrected inequities resulting from local control. State influence has expanded further since the 1970s, as states have increasingly participated in school finance and accountability in response to a perceived decline in both student achievement and professional leadership.

In earlier eras, school boards set policies and managed schools, not professional leaders. It is still the case that in theory, boards make policies and superintendents implement them, but in practice the roles are not clearly delineated, which can lead to conflict. At the same time, to deal with state mandates, districts

have become bureaucratized, and lay leaders have consequently exercised less control.

Public schools are organized as bureaucratically controlled institutions that serve the interests of the larger society, despite arguments that responsibility for dependent individuals is better placed with an intimate community. Conflict arises when lay volunteers are intensively engaged in public school leadership. because the social realms that interact, the communal and the bureaucratic, have different practices and goals. Successful resolution of such conflict by lay leadership requires bridging the personal and the collective through democratic interaction.

Recent school reform has aimed at bringing decision making and management closer to schools and communities. Strengthening schoolcommunity bonds is high on the national educational agenda, with objectives that include partnerships between parents and schools, shared decision making, and higher public accountability. Such reforms have enhanced layperson control by mandating advisory boards for some schools and increasing parental school choice. Community control has been recast as lay participation in advisory bodies that encourage enduring social relationships and a shared ethos.

The Realities of Lay Leadership

Lay leadership is still merely an ideal, for many reasons. The role of school boards remains ambiguous. Little agreement exists on what policies they should make and how. Their powers may combine executive, legislative, and quasi-judicial functions. Their relationships with

local constituencies and states are complicated. States see them as existing to translate governmental mandates into local policy, while they see themselves as serving local schools.

Few school boards or advisory councils have articulated a shared vision of policies and goals in the best interests of the children of their communities. Lay leaders may differ on whether schools primarily exist to lead children to a place in society or to develop individual abilities. Acting without a shared vision, boards cannot forge cohesive plans for educating all children or make decisions about integrating governmental mandates with local policies. Without a shared vision, they cannot communicate their purposes and actions effectively to garner community support.

Board members are also often heavily influenced by the demands of their constituencies, operating pluralistically and reactively. They consider issues on an ad hoc basis, and they allow the viewpoints of special interest groups to dominate policymaking. Moreover, board opinions and actions often reflect elite values, not broader community perspectives. As government officials representing groups in power and usually elected by a small portion of the electorate, board members are often motivated by political agendas.

Not sharing mutually established values and beliefs, lay leadership groups are unified mainly by the ritual of the board meeting agenda set by the superintendent. The ritual does afford the board considerable symbolic importance. Because the board meets, people believe their voices will be heard. Meetings support a logic of confidence between public schools and their constituents. Within this setting, lay leaders often have strong informal power in interpreting policy and operating districts. An effective board or council can become a forum for democratic deliberation that gives voice to diverse opinions.

Repositioning Lay Leadership for Democratic Community

Public school governance is changing in response to the pressures for schools to reconnect with the public. Restoring legitimacy to schools will require professional leaders to heed the public and take advantage of lay leadership to forge reconnections and make schools more democratic. Since they tolerate ambiguity and multiple perspectives, school boards can be repositioned to link groups interdependently through democratic processes.

Board meetings offer a framework for facilitating democratic community. Meetings allow the open and inclusive interpretations of political actions that state bureaucracy does not provide. To support democratic lay leadership, school and advisory boards must foster inclusion, dialogue, and deliberation. Democratic deliberation requires that boards practice equality of representation, allow all voices to be heard, and clarify the limits of their authority. Boards must use meetings to develop and articulate shared values, beliefs, and purposes about district goals. Lay leadership must institute and regulate practices that support data-based deliberation and consensual decisions. Effective lav leadership also requires the interlocking of purpose with policy and the ability to disseminate decisions in a clearly understandable form to constituents.

Challenges for Professional Leadership

Superintendents and principals face challenges in linking the lay leadership deliberations to school practice. To be most effective, professional leaders must convert board-determined decisions into operational decisions based on professional knowledge and judgment. Since boards hire and fire them, superintendents must work with lay leaders and use their professional access to data and knowledge of schooling to guide lay leaders' decisions. Professional leaders must also monitor inclusion of community voices; they set the tone that establishes and ensures democratic deliberation.

Moreover, effective superintendents and principals understand the boundaries between their authority and that of lay leaders. The role of professional leaders is to implement and enforce policy; if they cannot, or choose not to, both sides must revisit their understandings to see if they are still shared and if their official relationship should continue. Finally, professional leaders must enforce the limits of lay leadership without offending board or council members who overstep their authority by attempting to manage daily operations.

Conclusion

Confusion and debate over the role of lay leadership dominated the final decades of the 20th century. Many agreed that current governance structures impede both lay and professional leadership. But since lay leadership groups serve important symbolic and policymaking roles and can support democratic deliberation, they can be excellent sites for restructuring governance. They provide opportunities for all members of school communities to participate in regulated policy debates. These opportunities will be important in making school governance more democratic in the 21st century. A predominant challenge in repositioning lay leadership will be clarifying the relationship between lay and professional leadership so that each may lead well. #

Preparing School Leaders for School Improvement, Social Justice, and Community

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Three goals proposed by Joseph Murphy as crucial to 21st-century educational leadership—school improvement, democratic community, and social justice—support each other and form a strong focus for the preparation of educational leaders. This chapter considers how educational leadership programs can be recast to prepare leaders for meeting these three important goals. The necessary content and instructional focus as well as significant design elements of recast programs are discussed.

Content and Instructional Focus of Educational Leadership Programs

Five key relationships should provide the content and instructional focus of recast preparation programs. First is the relationship among school improvement, instructional leadership, and administrative work. Though educational researchers have long advocated that principals focus on instructional leadership, school leaders typically focus instead on management tasks. However they arrange their activities. what distinguishes effective leaders is the meaning they ascribe to their work as well as their ability to relate their work to thoughtfully developed and supportable beliefs about schooling.

Thus leadership programs should help their students to build a foundation of beliefs, knowledge, and values that they can exercise in varied contexts. For example, leadership students can benefit from developing a covenant for analyzing with other students what they truly value and forming beliefs that can guide their administrative decisions. Covenants can help students analyze school policy and connect

administrative work with instructional leadership.

The second important relationship is that among school improvement, high-stakes testing, and authentic pedagogy. The high-stakes testing prevalent in schools today pressures principals to be instructional leaders, but sometimes in limited ways, as when they promote teaching to tests. Such leadership may improve test scores but not help students learn more about things that matter.

Moreover, the rote teaching that often accompanies test-focused instruction counters what we know about the ways in which students learn. For example, constructivist learning theory, which is grounded in brain research, tells us that students form knowledge actively in relation to prior knowledge. In this view, teaching demands greater flexibility than that afforded by rote methods. Constructivist theory suggests that an authentic pedagogy focused on engaging students in constructing knowledge that connects with the world beyond the school is most effective. Research has correlated authentic pedagogy with high test scores. Without grounding in such pedagogy, principals are likely to cave in to political pressures and perpetuate the pedagogical status quo.

The third significant relationship is that between school improvement and schools as centers of inquiry and renewal. Though effective leadership has traditionally been seen as an event that is imposed on teachers during staff development, research suggests that effective leadership is very different. Effectively led schools are characterized by ongoing inquiry into school

practices, frequent professional collaboration, instructional leadership by teachers, and collective responsibility for students. Effectively led schools also feature shared values, learning principles, and collaborative decision-making structures to ensure continuous school renewal.

Leaders of schools that function as centers of inquiry and renewal are active, collegial, and participatory. To train such leaders, preparation programs should help students understand effective school practices and purposes, teacher development, and school renewal processes. They should also demonstrate ways to link inquiry with vision and value.

Fourth, the relationship between school improvement and democratic school purpose is crucial. School improvement encompasses enhanced academic performance as well as broader social goals such as developing schools that function as democracies and that prepare students for democracy. Democratic school governance structures that build school communities should combine with organizational dedication to democracy in school policies and practices.

To promote democracy, leaders must guide their schools toward the open flow of ideas, collective problem solving, critical reflection on policies, and concern for the dignity and rights of all individuals and groups. Thus leadership programs should include means of allowing democratic ideals to guide curriculum, interpersonal interactions, and program delivery.

Fifth, leadership programs should examine the relationship between school improvement and social justice. Inequitable practices in schools and their social contexts lead to inequitable academic and economic outcomes. Principals must be able to address such inequity. Unfortunately, the curriculum of preparation programs lacks adequate emphasis on social justice. Since educational leadership is political and value-laden, school leaders should be committed to supporting educational equity and excellence for all children.

To that end, preparation programs must teach how schools can both support and undermine social justice and how leaders can intervene effectively. This teaching can be carried out by examining evidence for the negative impact of injustice from the classroom to the community. Such teaching might include problem-based approaches, field-intensive approaches, and thematic approaches that integrate issues of social justice with existing curriculum.

Preservice programs should also teach how overcoming negative family background can promote school achievement, how professional support services can help solve social problems, and how regular collaboration can lead to knowledge and power sharing that can motivate professional achievement and address inequities. With such training, leaders can ensure that collaboration does not interfere with efficiency.

Administrator Preparation Program Design

To build educational administrators' knowledge, skills, and dispositions in support of the goals of school improvement, democratic community, and social justice, the following elements of leadership program design are essential.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

Enhanced cohort experiences that include other preparing professionals

who are involved in disciplines related to education should be provided to foster collaborative learning. Coursework focusing on the needs of students and families and on social justice issues should also be provided. The conceptual, technical, and human skills associated with disciplines related to educational administration should be taught in a more integrated fashion and focused on the three goals. Learning experiences should be sequenced to clarify relationships between concepts and associated technical and human skills. Shared curricular planning and collaborative teaching across faculty with different areas of disciplinary expertise are essential.

FIELD EXPERIENCE

A key goal of field experience is exposing tensions between the technical aspects of administration and educational leaders' responsibility for school improvement in the interest of democracy and equity. Field experiences should afford critical inquiry into the purposes of education, its connection to the broader social context, and the realities of practice. Field experiences might consist of shadowing, participation, advocacy, and reflection. They should occur in varied settings to broaden students' understanding of educational practice. Students might gain experience with school leaders at all administrative levels, social service or educational agencies, and schools with an unfamiliar cultural context.

Moreover, university seminars in support of field experience should include case studies related to internships and general issues, critical analysis of administrative routines, and opportunities for inquiry into field experiences. Field experiences should be carefully sequenced with coursework to enhance the relevance of introductory concepts and facilitate

the synthesis of conceptual and technical skills.

STUDENTS AND FACULTY

Research suggests that candidates for school leadership should be experienced and expert educators. They should also be advocates for social justice, effective collaborators and communicators, and reflective of the diversity of their communities. In order to identify such candidates, educational leadership faculty must be proactive, working closely with district administrators to recruit and screen potential school leaders.

Moreover, educational leadership faculty must be well grounded in education, school processes, and leadership; be committed to collaboration and social justice; help build a knowledge base for school leadership practice; and maintain connections to schools. The increased emphasis on collaboration between leadership programs and schools through supervised field experiences demands that a critical mass of fulltime faculty be dedicated to overseeing field experiences. Finally, like their students, educational leadership faculty must represent community diversity.

Conclusion

This chapter articulates how preparation programs can better train educational leaders who can meet the challenges of 21st-century schooling. To prepare leaders to lead schools toward improvement, democracy, and social justice, preparation programs must emphasize the relationships among these goals and the traditional practices of school leadership. The design of programs must be recast to promote the goals. A key challenge for leadership faculty will be to move outside of their disciplinary perspectives and commit to more integrated preparation of school leaders. #

Rethinking the Professional Development of School Leaders

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The work of school leaders is becoming increasingly complex. Responsibilities in schools and with external constituencies require that principals engage in continual learning. Professional growth is vital to their job performance and positively affects teacher development, school culture, reform efforts, and student learning.

Several barriers stand in the way of effective professional development for principals. Though the traditional model of professional development workshops on inservice days is rarely effective, it is sometimes easier to achieve than development activities requiring more commitment and effort. Principals spend much of their time responding to fragmented, concrete, immediate problems. Acquiring information that can be applied immediately seems preferable to the kinds of long-term study and reflection that may result in enduring school change.

Another problem is lack of acknowledgement that principals need professional development. When principals' learning is not viewed as essential, schools and communities hesitate to support it.

Also limiting principals' learning are external accountability requirements. These can cause leaders to focus on compliance with the requirements rather than on developing innovative and reflective practices.

This chapter presents a new conceptual framework for enhancing the learning of school leaders. It also recommends that principals lead in professional development through three essential roles: model learners, stewards of learning, and community builders.

Reculturing the Professional Development of School Leaders

For school leaders to engage in sustained learning, the definition of professional development must be altered and its design and delivery restructured. Professional development for school leaders should be defined as learning that engages leaders' critical, reflective, and creative capabilities to strengthen their own educational practice and enhance the learning and practice of others. Professional learning should provide the opportunities for selfdirection and experiential learning that all adult learners need and benefit from. It should also help administrators focus on the core school activities of teaching and learning, enable them to align their own learning goals with the goals of their institutions, and provide them with effective follow-up and support. Especially important for school leaders' development are the following design and delivery characteristics.

MOTIVATION

Since professional growth may be difficult, a principal's disposition toward learning is important. Prior experiences and mental habits influence the quality and outcomes of professional development. Principals' motivations may emerge from personal goals, including career advancement and performance rewards. Another incentive may be the current accountability environment. The emphasis on performance standards for both students and leaders can support the professional development of principals. Involving principals in planning professional development opportunities can help them reflect on and increase their desire to learn.

DIVERSE OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEARNING

Varied professional learning opportunities must be available. In schools, the learning opportunities for teachers should also be available to school leaders. Principals should be able to examine the practices of peers through shadowing, job exchanges, and learning sabbaticals. The Internet can provide many resources for collegial learning, including online courses, discussion groups, and professional websites. School leaders should participate in graduate programs with diverse learning experiences, including cohort groups, case studies, and applied research.

SUPPORT

Professional competence can be developed through supportive consultation with other administrators within one's own setting. However, lack of time and pressure to take advice rather than reflect on and challenge it can limit such support. Using support team members from outside the setting can eliminate these difficulties. Including university faculty with leadership expertise on support teams can allow principals to challenge existing practices and develop new ones. Principals can also gain support through mentoring relationships with senior colleagues. Mentors can guide leaders in areas targeted for improvement. These relationships can focus on single skills for a short period or delve into complex issues for a longer term.

Support can also come through linking individuals in learning relationships to solve common problems. School boards, parents, and community members might participate in groups that, removed from the daily exigencies of leadership, can focus on strengthening collaborative learning and support. In another collaborative strategy, school leaders can form groups to examine one another's practices and develop new norms of openness and critique.

LEARNING RELATED TO PRACTICE

Principals' professional development is most likely to succeed when related to the role of the leader in practice. Learning activities must be rich in substance and relate clearly to context while providing opportunities for reflection and application. Principals' learning can be technical and practical, clearly connected to explicit needs and outcomes in schools. Learning focused on longer term and potentially more transformational perspectives is also needed. Leaders pursuing such emancipatory knowledge will learn to engage in critical reflections that can foster a reconstructive approach to school leadership.

In one opportunity that fostered rich professional learning, 24 school administrators met with teachers and educational researchers in a yearlong seminar on teacher supervision in elementary mathematics. The administrators examined the content and pedagogical approaches of mathematics lessons and explored different strategies for observing lessons and assessing teacher performance. Administrators learned the value of attending to both the intellectual demands of lessons and teachers' strategies for fostering student learning. The project demonstrated that administrators can reflect on instructional leadership by collaborating with teachers.

The Principal's Role in Fostering Individual and Organizational Learning

Professional development of school leaders should occur with

that of others. Principals should become transformative leaders who engage in personal development and facilitate faculty development in order to improve teaching and learning. To that end, principals should assume the following interrelated roles.

Model Learners

Principals should be model learners, enthusiastically sharing their belief in the importance of continuous learning with faculty and developing plans for regularly updating knowledge and skills in accountable ways. Principals should participate in school-based professional development. They should also engage in learning opportunities provided by professional associations and other groups and should share what they learn externally with faculty in settings that stimulate dialogue. They should engage in research and communicate findings to make inquiry part of the life of the school.

STEWARDS OF LEARNING

Principals should be stewards of learning who focus the school on learning despite distracting social, political, and economic forces. Leaders must commit to fair and ethical treatment of all learners, valuing diverse needs and learning styles. They must use connections between professional and student learning to stimulate learning across levels. They should work with school community members to assess what they collectively believe makes their schools successful beyond the limits of accountability measures. Finally, principals must become innovative in structuring time for collaborative development.

COMMUNITY BUILDERS

School leaders should be community builders within their schools

and beyond. They must endeavor to make learning a community value and capacity, not just an individual activity. Theoretical constructs support the building of learning communities. Cognitive theories stress that learning is primarily a social process occurring most successfully within a community of practice. Organizational behavior theories suggest that learning organizations are characterized by norms that support deliberate learning in the routine structures and practices of organizations. Educational theories indicate that teacher and student engagement and accomplishment are higher in schools functioning as valuecentered communities with positive learning norms and practices of collaboration and reflection.

Traditional school culture tends to counteract the development of powerful learning communities.

Therefore, school leaders must help community members to reevaluate the school culture so that new ways of considering learning as a communal enterprise can flourish. Principals should be committed to helping build learning communities in which professional development is strong and external stakeholders like religious and social service organizations support and learn with the school.

Conclusion

Principal learning must be connected with faculty learning to improve student learning. Learning communities where everyone is engaged in self-development and organizational learning are not created accidentally. Leaders must devote sustained attention to this work, becoming continuous learners who stimulate others to learn. Leaders' efforts in this regard must be supported by superintendents, parents, teachers, and others with a stake in student success.

(**Introduction**, continued from p. 1)

participants, so that all could be fully involved in the discussion. Authors, administrators, teachers, researchers, policymakers, parents, and other stakeholders were invited to discuss the implications of the volume and to reflect on their experiences, concerns, and lessons learned.

General discussion centered on two broad topical areas suggested by the NSSE volume: (a) challenges in school and district leadership and reculturing the profession and (b) leadership roles in schools. Topics discussed in the first area included the evolution of educational leadership, the contextual terrain facing educational leaders, the challenges of leadership at the school and district level, school improvement processes and practices, leadership for democratic community, and leadership for social justice. Topics discussed in the second area included teacher leadership, reshaping the role of the principal, changes in the superintendency, repositioning lay leadership (both school boards and advisory groups), university educational leadership programs, and professional development of school leaders.

Participants also met in small work groups to explore issues raised in the general discussion and to generate next-step recommendations for building leaders' knowledge and for improving the links between research and practice. Groups were asked to consider whether recommendations should be formulated differently for different leadership roles and for different areas of expertise. They were also asked to consider which foundations—for example, practical experience, psychology, business, political science, or sociology-deserved the greatest credibility in formulating recommendations.

This issue of The LSS Review provides a synopsis of the recommendations of the work groups. This is followed by summaries of the chapters in the NSSE volume. The conference organizers hope that this information will stimulate thought and discussion about the challenges facing educational leaders today, will outline directions for future research, and will underscore the need for substantive change in the way leaders think and act. The findings of this conference make it clear that lasting improvement of the nation's public schools requires leaders willing to commit themselves to redefining their profession. #

(Recommendations, continued from p. 3)

Sustained leadership development programs for school and district leaders should be developed. These could include peer coaching, research opportunities, and district study groups using scientific evidence to build the knowledge of experienced administrators. Finally, to develop teacher leaders, teachers should generate topics and research efforts for professional development activities and should present findings at those activities.

Reculturing School Leadership

To improve schools, leaders' attention to the political realities of the standards-based reform environment should be balanced with work toward organizing democratic and socially just communities in schools and beyond, including developing alternative assessments beyond high-stakes testing. Closing the achievement gap should be a priority for educational leaders; all underrepresented groups should be provided with equitable opportunities. To that end, new leadership frameworks should allow space for leaders to explore

and transform their own assumptions and values. Leaders should promote change of the school culture from a closed system to an open one.

Conclusion

The book chapters, conference presentations, general discussion, and work groups all pointed to the conclusion that to redefine educational leadership for the 21st century, increasing educators' knowledge of leadership principles that work and of scientific research supporting those principles is both necessary and achievable. Strengthening the links between research and practice in the field can increase knowledge and also give leaders the skills they need to improve the nation's schools, making them democratic, socially just, and high-achieving learning communities. Participants observed that new ways of leading schools and districts can be learned and implemented successfully when knowledge of what works motivates leaders to change. #

The LSS REVIEW

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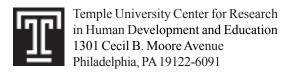
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